

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9699

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 13142

EXDIS

NESCO

E. O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PORG, OCON, UNESCO, US

SUBJECT: UNESCO 97TH EXBD SESSION ASSESSMENT

1. SUMMARY: 97TH EXECUTIVE BOARD SESSION OF UNESCO WAS NOTABLE FOR BROAD CONSENSUS ON THE NEED TO AVOID POLITICAL ISSUES TO THE GREATEST EXTENT POSSIBLE, TO SHOW UNESCO TO BE EFFICIENTLY FOCUSED ON ITS BUSINESS, AND TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE OF RECONCILIATION PARTIALLY REFLECTED IN THE GENERAL RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED. FURTHERMORE, SEVERAL POSSIBILITIES EMERGED DURING INFORMAL EXCHANGES, FOR MOVEMENT TOWARD ISRAELI PARTICIPATION IN REGIONAL ACTIVITIES OF EUROPEAN MEMBER STATES AND FOR A LIMITED UNESCO ROLE ON JERUSALEM PROBLEM. USEFUL NEGATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS INCLUDED DISSUASION OF PLO FROM SEEKING BOARD ACCREDITATION OF A PLO PERMANENT OBSERVER AND PLO ATTENDANCE AT EXBD SESSIONS AS OBSERVERS, SIDETRACKING OF DEBATE ON CHILE, AND ABSENCE OF ARAB-ISRAELI DEBATE. WHILE THERE WAS DISTINCT, IF LARGELY INTANGIBLE CONSENSUS ON THE NEED FOR CONCILIATORY DIALOGUE WITH THE ISRAELIS, IT SHOULD BE UNDERLINED THAT WEO'S AND OTHER FRIENDLY NATIONS ON BOARD SEEM MOTIVATED MORE BY CONCERN FOR RESTORING FULL US MORAL AND, OF COURSE, FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR UNESCO

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THAN BY CONCERN FOR ISRAELIS. MOREOVER, WEO'S CLEARLY

UNWILLING TO GO SO FAR OR SO FAST IN AIDING US OR ISRAEL AS TO PROVOKE CONFRONTATION WITH ARABS. TRANS-  
LATION OF THIS ATMOSPHERE INTO ACTION WILL REQUIRE  
(A) CONCILIATORY GESTURE BY ISRAELIS, PERHAPS ON A  
LEMAIRE VISIT; (B) CESSATION OF ISRAELI INSPIRED AT-  
TACKS ON UNESCO; AND (C) CAREFUL ADVANCE PREPARATION  
BY US TO ELICIT FROM WEO CAPITALS SUPPORT FOR MEASURES  
LEADING TO ISRAELI PARTICIPATION IN 1975 AND 1976 IN  
CERTAIN EUROPEAN REGIONAL ACTIVITIES. ACTUAL MEMBER-  
SHIP IN EUROPEAN REGIONAL ACTIVITY GROUP OF UNESCO, AS  
DEPARTMENT AWARE, CAN ONLY BE ACCORDED BY APPROVAL OF  
THE GENERAL CONFERENCE WHICH MEETS IN 1976. END  
SUMMARY.

2. AS 97TH EXBD SESSION OF UNESCO ENDS, BELIEVE WE CAN  
TAKE SATISFACTION FROM FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS:

A. DIRECTOR GENERAL SUCCESSFULLY DEFLECTED ISSUE OF  
PLO PERMANENT OBSERVER STATUS AT UNESCO OR AT BOARD  
SESSIONS. FACT THAT IT DID NOT ARISE IN ANY FORM DURING  
THE BOARD SESSION CAN BE ATTRIBUTED LARGELY TO HIS PRE-  
SESSION ARGUMENT TO AFRICANS THAT THEY SHOULD WITHHOLD  
SUPPORT FOR INTRODUCTION OF AN ISSUE WHICH COULD COM-  
PLICATE INITIAL PERIOD OF FIRST AFRICAN DG. WE BELIEVE  
THAT BOARD CHAIRMAN WYNTER ALSO PLAYED CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE  
AND THAT EGYPTIAN PERMREP EL-WAKIL CAN BE GIVEN SOME  
CREDIT FOR RESTRAINING PLO.

B. BOARD SESSION WAS CARRIED OFF WITH PRACTICALLY NO  
OVERT POLITICAL DEBATE. OUR OWN MAY 9 STATEMENT, WHICH  
WAS THE FIRST TO INTRODUCE A POLITICAL ISSUE INTO THE  
SESSION, WAS CAREFULLY TIMED AND PREPARED SO THAT IT WAS  
NOT VIEWED AS A SIGNAL FOR OPENING DEBATE. EGYPTIAN  
WAS CALM AND CONSTRUCTIVE IN HIS RESPONSE AND SYRIAN,  
WHILE RESERVING HIS RIGHT TO A LATER REPLY, NEVER  
EXERCISED IT. ISRAELI INTERVENTIONS IN PROGRAMME COM-  
MISSION MAY 9 AND IN PLENARY MAY 22 WERE DESIGNED  
MAINLY TO POINT UP ANOMALOUS SITUATION CREATED BY  
HOLDING MEETINGS IN CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN AND ARAB STATES  
BORDERING ON MEDITERRANEAN WITHOUT ISRAELI ATTENDANCE  
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AS FULL PARTICIPANT. ALTHOUGH SHARPNESS OF ISRAELI  
STATEMENT MAY 22 PROVOKED FORCEFUL RESPONSE FROM DG  
EMPHASIZING LACK OF PRIOR ISRAELI BID FOR ATTENDANCE,  
THIS TENSE MOMENT PASSED WITHOUT MAJOR BLOW-UP AND  
ISRAELI DELEGATE RESPONDED IN CALM TONES.

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C. DIRECTOR GENERAL M'BOW AND BOARD CHAIRMAN WYNTER BOTH MADE CONSTRUCTIVE REMARKS WHICH WERE GENERALLY UNDERSTOOD TO BE AIMED AT CORRECTING SITUATION IN WHICH ONE UNESCO MEMBER, ISRAEL, DOES NOT HAVE, BECAUSE OF DEFEAT OF ITS 18TH GC BID TO JOIN THE EUROPEAN REGIONAL GROUP, THE SAME ACCESS TO CERTAIN UNESCO ACTIVITIES AS DO OTHER MEMBERS. THESE REMARKS WERE STIMULATED, IN PART, BY SUCCESSFUL USDEL EFFORT TO ILLUSTRATE, WITH MEDITERRANEAN CONFERENCE EXAMPLE' PRACTICAL IMPACT OF ISRAEL'S EXISTING POSITION IN UNESCO. THE DIRECTOR GENERAL'S APPEAL TO MEMBER STATES TO OVERCOME TENSIONS IN A SPIRIT OF FRANKNESS, SOLIDARITY, COOPERATION AND TOLERANCE WAS ENDORSED BY A RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE BOARD WITH NO OPPOSING VOTES. WE SUBSEQUENTLY POINTED THIS UP AS A COMMITMENT TO FUTURE PROGRESS.

D. SEVERAL MODEST OPENINGS FOR FUTURE PROGRESS WERE DEVELOPED DURING QUIET EXPLORATORY DISCUSSIONS DURING THE SESSION: (1) POSSIBILITY THAT ISRAEL COULD BE INCLUDED IN A EUROPEAN REGIONAL PROCESS WHICH BEGINS IN HELSINKI THIS FALL OF PREPARING AN ALL-EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON DIPLOMA EQUIVALENCY. (ISRAEL IS ALREADY SIGNATORY TO WEST EUROPEAN 1953 CONVENTION BUT COULD HAVE PRACTICAL INTEREST IN ALL-EUROPEAN CONVENTION GIVEN NUMBER OF ITS CITIZENS WITH DEGREES FROM SOVBLOC COUNTRIES. ALTHOUGH SOVIETS MIGHT RESIST SUCH

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INCLUSION, EGYPTIAN DEL HERE TOLD US HE WOULD URGE HIS GOVERNMENT NOT TO STIMULATE SOVBLOC OBJECTIONS AND THESE COULD CONCEIVABLY BE MUTED IF SOVIET RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS UNDERWAY); (2) POSSIBILITY THAT DG, IF HE ABLE TO USE HIS AIDES AND SUPPORTERS FLEXIBLY, CAN WORK AT A NEW VISIT TO JERUSALEM OF THE BELGIAN ARCHEOLOGIST LEMAIRE THAT COULD BE VIEWED AS A PARTIAL STEP TOWARD REDUCING ARAB ANXIETIES REGARDING THE PROTECTION OF MOSLEM CULTURAL VALUES THERE.

E. CHILEAN ISSUE, WHICH CUBANS TRIED HARD TO POLITICIZE, WAS SUCCESSFULLY DEFLATED BY BOARD CHAIRMAN'S TACTIC OF POSTPONEMENT OF ITEM TO END OF SESSION. BY TIME IT CAME UP IN LATE EXTRA NIGHT SESSION OF LAST DAY, BOARD PREDISPOSED TO CHILEAN TACTIC WORKED OUT WITH BOARD CHAIRMAN. WITH SUPPORT OF LA'S, AND WITH RELATIVELY MODEST APPEALS FOR SUPPORTIVE US INVOLVEMENT, CHILEANS SUCCEEDED IN POSTPONING SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF THE THREE CHILE RELATED ITEMS, EFFECTIVELY PUTTING OFF UNDESIRABLE SITUATION IN WHICH CHILE ONLY UNESCO MEMBER WHOSE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION SUBJECT FORMALLY TO BOARD'S SCRUTINY.

3. FOREGOING POSITIVE BUT MODEST DEVELOPMENTS TOOK PLACE AGAINST THE FOLLOWING BACKGROUND:

A. BOARD MEMBERS, NOT ONLY THE EUROPEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN VETERANS, BUT ALSO LDC REPS, ANXIOUS TO MAINTAIN UNESCO EDUCATIONAL INPUTS WERE CLEARLY CONCERNED AT THE DAMAGE TO UNESCO CAUSED BY THE CONTROVERSIAL DECISIONS OF THE 18TH GC. THUS, THERE WAS AN UNSEEN COALITION AVAILABLE TO THE DG AND THE BOARD CHAIRMAN IN SUPPORT OF A BUSINESSLIKE DEPOLITICIZED SESSION WHICH WOULD HOPEFULLY CREATE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH ATTACKS OF PARTS OF WESTERN INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY AND PRESS ON UNESCO WOULD SUBSIDE.

B. DG NOT ONLY FELT THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT STEP FOR HIS OWN AND UNESCO'S OVERALL PURPOSES, BUT HAD BEEN CONVINCED BY NAJMAN'S JANUARY AND MARCH FORAYS TO THE US THAT US NOT LOOKING FOR ANY OTHER OBJECTIVES AND WAS LYING

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LOW FOR TIME BEING. HIS STRATEGY THUS DID NOT ANTICIPATE A US RETURN TO AN ACTIVE ROLE.

C. INITIAL US EFFORTS TO POINT UP THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ISRAELI'S ABSENCE FROM THE LIST OF RECOMMENDED INVITEES TO THE MEDITERRANEAN CONFERENCE CREATED CONSIDERABLE ANXIETY ON PART OF DG, NAJMAN, WYNTER, AND EUROPEAN AND ARAB BOARD MEMBERS, WHO SAW IT AS POSSIBLE THREAT TO DG'S STRATEGY OF DEFLECTING POLITICAL ISSUES. WE WERE URGED TO AVOID ACTUAL PROPOSAL IN MAY 9 PROGRAMME COMMISSION THAT ISRAEL BE ADDED TO LIST OF INVITEES. FACT THAT ISRAELIS MADE NO EFFORT TO HOLD SERIOUS CONVERSATION WITH US UNTIL MAY 9 AND DID NOT MAKE CLEAR BID FOR US TO MAKE SUCH A MOVE FACILITATED OUR STOPPING SHORT OF THIS POINT. NEVERTHELESS, PRESS

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HANDLING OF OUR MAY 9 STATEMENT CONSIDERABLY VEXED AND DISTURBED M'BOW (WHO RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY BLAMES HIS US PRESS DIRECTOR IN PART FOR PRESS HANDLING).

D. EUROPEAN BOARD MEMBERS WERE CLEARLY ANXIOUS TO SHOVE ISSUE OF ISRAELI'S RELATIONS UNDER THE RUG. ALTHOUGH WE DID NOT PRESS THEM TO VOTE AGAINST THE RESOLUTIONS WE OPPOSED, WE INFORMED THEM OF OUR INTENTIONS AND THE REASONS FOR THEM, NOTING THAT THE UNESCO SECRETARIAT'S DOCUMENTATION IMPLIED THAT THE DECISIONS AT THE 18TH GENERAL CONFERENCE WERE RELEVANT TO THE INVITATION LIST TO THE MEDITERRANEAN CONFERENCE. WITHOUT EXCEPTION, THEY TURNED ASIDE FROM ISSUE IN MAY 9 DISCUSSION HOPING

IT WOULD GO AWAY. ONLY AFTER OUR MAY 9 STATEMENT AND ISRAELI DEMARCHES HAD STIRRED SOME REACTIONS IN THEIR OWN CAPITALS, DID THEY COME TO CONCLUSION THEY WOULD HAVE TO TAKE A STAND WHEN THE ISSUE REAPPEARED IN PLenary. MOST OF THEM DID SO IN EXPLANATIONS OF VOTE WHICH EXPRESSED REGRET THAT ISRAEL NOT PARTY TO MEDITERRANEAN MEETING. THIS GENERALLY UNHELPFUL POSTURE REFLECTS ATTITUDE THAT ISRAEL HAS NOT PLAYED ITS CARDS EFFECTIVELY OR CONSTRUCTIVELY AND PROBLEM OF RESTORING IT TO EQUAL STATUS IS ESSENTIALLY US EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCH PROBLEM.

E. WEO'S ON BOARD (AUSTRIA, BELGIUM, FRANCE, FRG, ITALY AND UK, AS WELL AS AUSTRALIA) CLEARLY WERE NOT WILLING TO AND, IN THE FUTURE LIKELY WILL NOT, GO SO FAR OR SO SECRET

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FAST WITH CONCRETE ACTION MEASURES AS TO RISK A CONFRONTATION WITH THE ARABS. WEO'S AND OTHER FRIENDLY BOARD MEMBERS POLICIES ON UNESCO-ISRAEL-ARAB ISSUES REFLECT FOREIGN OFFICES PERCEPTIONS OF RESPECTIVE NATIONAL INTERESTS; CRITICISMS OF UNESCO BY RESPECTIVE INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITIES AND PARLIAMENTS ARE AT MOST SECONDARY CONSIDERATIONS AND REFLECTED ONLY SLIGHTLY, IF AT ALL, IN POSITIONS THESE COUNTRIES TAKE AT UNESCO EXECUTIVE BOARD OR GENERAL CONFERENCE MEETINGS.

F. WEO AND OTHER FRIENDLY NATIONS CLEARLY MOTIVATED MORE BY CONCERN FOR RESTORING FULLY SUPPORTIVE US MORAL AND, OF COURSE, FINANCIAL ROLE IN UNESCO THAN BY FEELING THAT WRONGS DONE TO ISRAEL NEED TO BE CORRECTED. IT NOTEWORTHY THAT IN PRIVATE, REPRESENTATIVES OF WEO'S COMMONLY FEEL THAT MEDIA ATTACKS ON UNESCO OVER ISRAEL--ESPECIALLY IN FRANCE AS WELL AS LOCALLY LESS READ US MEDIA--HAVE BEEN INACCURATE AND GREATLY EXAGGERATED; IN PARTICULAR, EXCEPTION IS TAKEN TO CHARGE OF ALLEGED "EXCLUSION" OF ISRAEL FROM UNESCO ACTIVITIES. DESPITE THIS, SOME MAY BE WILLING FOLLOW BELGIAN LEAD IN MAY 22 EXPLANATION OF VOTE TO INCLUDE ISRAEL IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMA EQUIVALENCY PROCESS NOW THAT EGYPTIAN HAS SIGNALLED NO OPPOSITION TO THIS.

G. ISRAELI HARD-LINE STANCE MAINTAINED TOWARDS UNESCO UNTIL JUST RECENTLY WAS COMMONLY PERCEIVED AS UNREALISTIC POLITICALLY AND IMPOSSIBLE PROCEDURALLY; EVOKING SUSPICION THAT ISRAELIS MIGHT HAVE SET OUT DELIBERATELY TO WRECK UNESCO AS AN OBJECT LESSON TO OTHER UN AGENCIES WEO'S POINT OUT THAT ISRAELIS HAVE REJECTED EFFORTS BY M'BOW AND ARE PERCEIVED AS HAVING INSISTED UPON POLITI-

CALLY UNOBTAINABLE ACT OF CONTRITION BY UNESCO MEMBER  
MEMBER STATES IN FULL KNOWLEDGE, IN ANY EVENT, THAT  
ONLY THE NEXT GENERAL CONFERENCE CAN DEFINITELY  
CORRECT OR REVERSE ACTIONS OF THIS LAST ONE.

H. WEO PERCEPTION IS THAT ISRAELI ACTIONS WILL HAVE  
IMPORTANT IMPACT ON THE CHANCES FOR ACTION AT FALL  
'75 OR SPRING '76 BOARD SESSIONS--POSSIBLY A FORMAL  
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BOARD RECOMMENDATION TO OCTOBER 1976 UNESCO GENERAL CON-  
FERENCE THAT IMPLICITLY OR, LESS LIKELY, EXPLICITLY,  
PAVING WAY FOR ISRAELI MEMBERSHIP IN UNESCO'S EUROPEAN  
REGIONAL ACTIVITY GROUP. ALL FRIENDLY BOARD MEMBERS  
FEEL THAT THERE IS NO PROSPECT WHATSOEVER FOR REVERSAL  
OF THE JERUSALEM EXCAVATIONS SANCTIONS UNLESS ISRAELIS  
MAKE DRAMATIC GESTURE; EVEN THEN THERE NO SENSE OF  
CERTAINTY THAT ARABS WOULD RELENT ON ISSUE OF SUCH IN-  
TENSE EMOTIONAL CONTENT.

4. LOOKING AHEAD, THIS BOARD SESSION DEMONSTRATED AB-  
SOLUTE NECESSITY OF CAREFUL ADVANCE PREPARATION BY US  
DEMARCHES TO CAPITALS OF WEO'S AND OTHERS--PERHAPS IN-  
CLUDING EGYPT AND TUNISIA--FOR GETTING WEO'S TO TAKE

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EXDIS

NECESSARY LEAD ON EUROPEAN REGIONAL ISSUE AND ARAB AGREEMENT TO AT LEAST EXPRESS NO MORE THAN PRO FORMA OPPOSITION. DEGREE OF ARAB OPPOSITION, OR HOPEFULLY TACIT ACCEPTANCE, WILL HAVE KEY INFLUENCE ON SOVIET AND EE VOTES.

I. DG VEXATION WITH ISRAELIS IS CLEAR AND EVIDENTLY GROWING. IT IS OF SUFFICIENT MAGNITUDE, WE FEEL, TO LIMIT HIS ABILITY OR WILLINGNESS TO SET IN MOTION THE KIND OF PATIENT PROBING NECESSARY TO BUILD UNESCO'S IMAGE AS THE PARTY USING EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO REPAIR THE DAMAGE. HE MAY WELL REQUIRE CAREFUL COUNSELING TO KEEP HIM MOVING IN A DIRECTION WHICH WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE A CONTINUING DIALOGUE WITH THE ISRAELIS. ON THEIR PART, THE ISRAELIS MUST PRESENT TO M'BOW A CLEAR INDICATION THAT THEY ARE NOT USING UNESCO IN A DELIBERATE EFFORT TO CREATE A SALUTARY EFFECT ON OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS BY FORCING THE US TO CONTINUE TO WITHHOLD ITS CONTRIBUTION AND STIMULATING A BOYCOTT AMONG WESTERN INTELLECTUALS. THE DG SEEMS CONVINCED THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE NOT SO MUCH INTERESTED IN FINDING A WAY TO CORRECT THE 18TH GEN. CONF. RESOLUTIONS AS MAKING A SCAPEGOAT OF THE UNESCO SECRETARIAT. THEREFORE, THE EMOTIONAL CLIMATE--AND BOTH THE DG AND THE ISRAELIS ARE PROUD AND SENSITIVE--WILL PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN MOVING TOWARD AN ACCEPTABLE RAPPROCHEMENT.

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